1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a pregnant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is unknown outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

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it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

GEIDAM

796 Nguneri Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
825 The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
565 blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
431 sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
123 a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
785 During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
561 like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
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this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.

128 Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the

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attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigeful. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 272]

[BEIDAN]

Table XXI

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*825 7, 8. Comparison of horse and bicycle: which is more useful; which would you rather have.
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	Which is more useful? horse	bicycle	different	Rather have horse	bicycle
Aristocracy	3	1	1	2	3
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	2	1	3	3
NA Malams	3	1	2	3	3
Kabuna	5	-	1	5	1
Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status Individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

[GEIDAN]

177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were mentioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bicycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." Another Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown (kuluqu) and big pants--it's pleasant (kəli)."

177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle? Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not dignified (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Craftsmen) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and overwhelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial activities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other factors which favor the bicycle.

177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-